AIM

THE BULLETIN OF THE AMERICAN INDEPENDENT MOVEMENT

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CITY DANGLES UTOPIA BUT...

CLERGY URGES VOTE AGAINST WAR BILL

Reverend A. Frazier Mitchell, chairman of Hamden AIM, and Reverend Jim Smith of the Connecticut Voters Council were among approximately 40 clergymen and divinity students from the New Haven area who took part in a recent trip to Washington to protest the Vietnam war.

Approximately 2500 members of a group called "Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam" converged on Washington from 48 states to urge their Congressmen and Senators to vote against the $12.3 billion supplemental appropriation for the war.

After picketing the White House on Tuesday, January 31, for an hour, the men marched to the Capitol. Here the group split, some meeting with their Representatives, others with their Senators.

Mitchell went with about 25 clergymen to ask Connecticut Senators Dodd and Ribicoff to vote against the supplemental appropriation.

Senator Dodd explained that he had never voted against any regular defense appropriations. When it was explained that this was a special appropriation, not a regular one, Dodd said that, although he was "against war," he could not vote against the executive branch.

Senator Ribicoff was out of

Cont.--Page 2

Dwight-Hill women outside City Hall before seeing the Mayor.

By Elizabeth Kane

Five women from the Legion Avenue area, representing the newly-formed Dwight-Hill Association, confronted Mayor Lee on February 1, demanding concrete answers to their questions about the disruption of their families and homes by the proposed Route 34 extension. The meeting had been billed for two days on local newscasts as a threatened "march" on city hall--because Lee had not replied to the women's letter asking to see him-- but Lee is smart. He marshalled an array of redevelopment officials and met with the demonstrators-- and the press-- in the chambers of the Board of Aldermen for two hours.

One radio reporter was very impressed with the fact that the mayor served coffee, tea, and doughnuts to the critical crowd. The neighborhood women and AIM sympathizers found the party less pleasant. In statements and in conversation Lee admitted that in past urban renewal projects the city had made "every mistake in the book" where residents' needs were concerned. Officials made fine-sounding promises to avoid these mistakes "this time around."

Cont.--Page 3

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David Adams
Elizabeth Henderson
Noel Kane
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FOR DAVE MITCHELL

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His loyalty was to an America which would not wage immoral wars. His crime was refusing to serve in one.

clergy visit cont.

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HINTON SEES SUCCESS FOR MAO

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Hinton drew from his own experience of life in a Chinese village to write "Fan-Shen: Documents of Revolution in a Chinese Village." From 1944 to 1946, Hinton worked for the Office of War Information. From 1946 to 1948, he worked in China as a tractor technician for the United Nations relief and recovery team. When the UN ordered him to leave in 1948, he refused, living in Fan-Shen and working as the chief instructor in a school for tractor technicians until 1954, when he returned to the United States. He now lives on his farm in Pennsylvania.

Claiming that the current unrest in China is a phase in its continuing revolution, Hinton predicted the success of Mao and the emergence of a new coalition. He pointed out that the Red Guards are using the walls Peking as a "forum"and that their posters cannot be used as facts in attempting to analyze events in China.

Dick Mann, chairman of Yale-IPAC, introduced Professor Spence who, in turn, introduced Hinton. The talk had been scheduled for the Graduate School Faculty Lounge, but when more than 350 people appeared to hear Hinton, they used the Law School Auditorium.

THE NEW BUDGET: NO PROGRAM FOR PEACE

By Robert Cook

Any society can be analyzed in terms of its economic surplus; that is, the difference between what it produces and essential consumption. Key aspects of the surplus are its size, the way it is used, and by whom it is controlled.

In the U.S. today, a sizable proportion of the surplus is appropriated by the federal government through taxation. While part of the federal budget is spent on essential consumption, large portions of it must be treated as surplus, to be invested or wasted (of course, the bulk of our surplus is controlled by large private corporations, financial institutions, and wealthy individuals.)

By any standards, the budget of the U.S. government is huge. One of the problems in talking about it is that it is hard just to comprehend what a billion dollars means - $1,000,000,000.00 - no less $169.2 billion. For comparison, we can mention that the Red Chinese ran Northeast China in the mid-1930's for about $4 million per year; that all of North Vietnam now produces a total of less than $10 billion per year; that for $15 billion per year poverty in the U.S. could be eliminated; that $1 billion would provide one person with an income of $10,000 per year for 100,000 years, or $10 million per year for 100 years.

Cont.--Page 5

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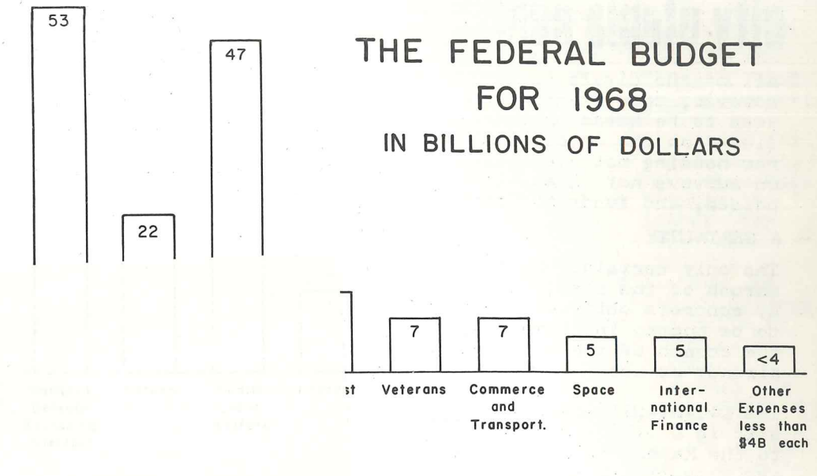

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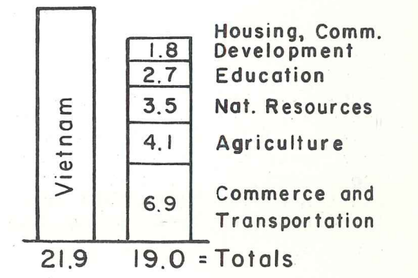

Figure 3: Comparison of federal spending on Vietnam and on selected areas of civilian expenditure.

No one should misunderstand the reality behind the budget bureau's claim that federal aid to the poor will total $25.6 billion in 1968. The government counts as poor the 31 million Americans living on less than $3000 per family per year. Most of the $25.6 billion is listed as "Cash Payments to Welfare Recipients". What remains is scattered among programs for training and assorted kinds of community

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The enormity of spending for this war will be obvious when we compare it to spending for some other parts of the budget. Figure No. 3 contrasts what Washington spends on some of its most important domestic programs with what the Vietnam war alone is costing.

The three Figures indicate the hypocrisy of official speeches about having both guns and butter. Every one of the federal programs for civilians listed above could be doubled in size for less than the drain of the war in Vietnam.

With or without Vietnam, spending on "national defense" has for years taken the largest single slice of the budget. Excluding all money for Vietnam, "national defense" absorbed 40 per cent of federal outlays in 1966.

Together with defense spending two other items consistently make up over two thirds of total spending. The smaller of the two is Interest, which means money paid over to individuals and corporations who loaned money to the government to cover previous budget deficits. As the third largest item of federal spending, Interest, will take about $10.5 billion in 1968 which comes to several times the amount going to education.

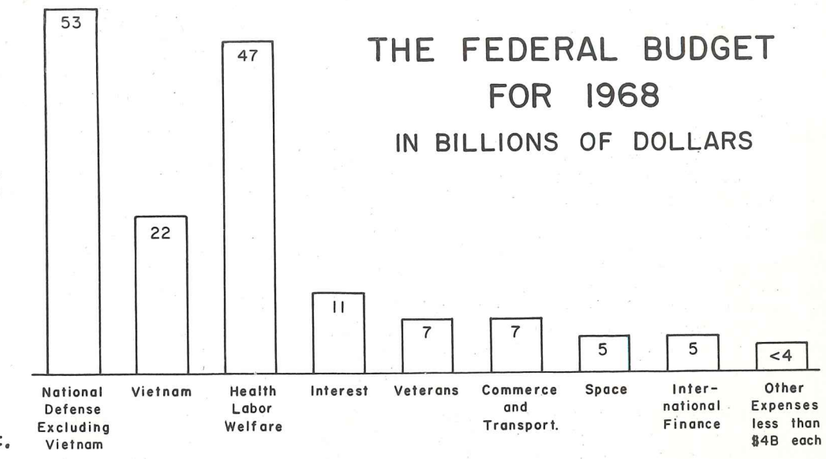


Figure 1: 1968 Total Budget Expenditure

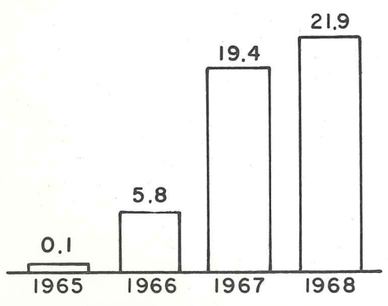
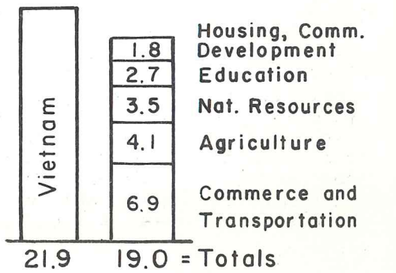


Figure 2: Spending on Vietnam, 1965 to 1968

The second largest expenditure, listed as Health, Labor and Welfare (HLW), deserves slightly more detailed mention. The reason for this is the fact that the federal government finances HLW outlays in a special way. HLW money comes from trust funds established by Congress for certain specific purposes, not from income, corporate and excise taxes. The Social Security system is the most important trust fund. Working people contribute to these trust funds.

Back in 1966, as shown in Figure No. 4, public contributions into the trust funds were almost exactly matched by payments to the public from those funds. For 1968, however, President Johnson intends to siphon off some $3.5 billion from HLW programs to cover other budget needs, probably for Vietnam.

The point here is that trust funds grow automatically with the growth of the economy, no new laws are needed to increase the size of the trust funds. By not spending on HLW all of the automatic increases in the funds, Johnson has the difference (See Figure No. 4) to spend elsewhere in the budget. In that way he is spared the political embarrassment of having to raise the $3.5 billion through even higher taxes. He simply cuts back the normal growth of Health, Labor and Welfare programs.



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Cont.--Page 5

city utopia cont.

All of the city's plans, however, upon examination are seen to be based on uncertainties-- on the completion of new housing not even planned, on surveys not taken, bills not passed, and funds not provided.

A CERTAINTY

The only certainty is the onrush of the road, 410 feet of concrete oblivion scheduled to be poured in 18 months, and the crunch of the wrecking ball already at work.

The Dwight-Hill Association said in a mimeographed message to the Mayor: "WE DON'T WANT THE HIGHWAY THROUGH OUR NEIGHBORHOOD." Their spokesmen were told that the road had been planned since 1954 and $20 million for land acquisition and construction was appropriated by the last state legislature. "Nothing is going to stop it now."

The women are against the new highway for several reasons. Many of the people in its path are tenants who have already been moved by the city or been forced out by projects in other areas of New Haven one, two, even three times. They are tired of putting down roots in a neighborhood, of having their children start new schools and make new friends, only to be told again that they must leave They resent the fact that they can't afford to move back into the homes that replace theirs.

A MISTAKE

The women asked the Mayor why they had been sent to Legion Avenue if the city planned since 1954 to tear the area down. "We do not move anyone into such a renewal area," Mel Adams, Redevelopment Agency director, said. Faced with proof the city had done this, he changed his answer to "we will not"-- this time. Lee, too, admitted this had been a mistake.

The people feel trapped. "There are only a certain number of places in New Haven where black people can live," they said, and most are slated for destruction or run-down. "Redevelopment hasn't helped us--the black people and the poor people of New Haven," the Dwight-Hill Association wrote. "STOP BLACK REMOVAL!"

The people are also confused. Despite city insistence that all had been notified, many do not know if and when their homes will be taken for the road. The Dwight-Hill Association was started after eight Legion Avenue tenants went to a meeting of the Hill Parents' Association. Their first act was to request a meeting with the State Highway Commission to find out what will be destroyed and how people will be relocated. The state sent a fast-talking representative, replete with baffling maps and evasions.

A meeting with CPI on relocation benefits was no more helpful. So the group asked to talk to the Mayor.

KEEP ASKING

At city hall there was buck-passing too. Lee said he was not responsible for what CPI told people, and he had "no control" over the State Highway Department. Yet he spoke of lobbying in Hartford to have Route 34 planned. Under Connecticut law, business men are reimbursed for the cost of moving to make way for a highway; tenants and homeowners are not. Lee announced that he had introduced two bills in the Assembly to change the law, and to prevent the welfare department from deducting such payments from welfare checks. He offered to provide busses to bring Dwight-Hill people to Hartford to support them. "We need your help." The proposed laws are good. But the appeal was also a disarming move, an attempt to pass the responsibility on.

The Dwight-Hill group asked to see "definite statistics on the number and size of families who will be moved by all your projects" and "proof that you have enough apartments for them which are big enough, in good shape, with rents they can afford-- and are not in areas you are going to tear down later."

The city countered with some figures. 400 families will be affected. Not one of them had cause for worry: a door-to-door survey had been conducted, the names and size and needs and even area preferences of every family to be moved was known to the Redevelopment Agency, and they were all already provided for. A resident spoke up: no one had questioned her. Lee went through the group. Not one of the women there had been visited by the city. Turning to Adams, he asked,"Didn't we do this?" Adams turned to a line-up of subordinates. "Didn't we?" We hadn't. "We should have done this before," Adams admitted. "We'll start tomorrow. Then we'll plan what kind of housing is needed."

A PRETENSE

After this confession, it was hard not to see the holes beneath the pretense of planning the city flaunted the rest of the morning. For example, they said that at least 400 openings are expected in public housing annually, and 100 in private buildings under a new "rent-certificate" program (the city pays the difference between 23% of a tenant's income and a "fair rent")--"enough housing for all who will have to be moved." No one mentioned that there will be demands on this space by people displaced from other renewal areas and by a normal population growth.

On the welfare march to Hartford last summer a state worker confessed that he had to move some large families on welfare out of New Haven to Waterbury and Bridgeport. There was a woman at the meeting with the Mayor who had five children. She had been moved to make way for Florence Virtue, a project with too few bedrooms and a prohibitive $325 entrance fee. She was shown one apartment by the Redevelopment Agency, three days before her home fell. It was the only large one and she had to take it, although it wasn't and never has been up to Housing Code standards. Lee admitted that in the past, as deadlines neared, there hadn't been time to treat all fairly. "This time," he said, demolition will be spread out over 18 months and there will be time. Recently a state appraiser had given the woman a more

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new budget cont.

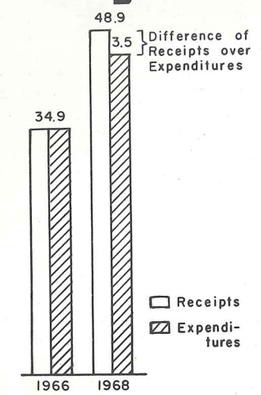

Figure 4: Trust Fund receipts and expenditures, 1966 and 1968

development. Spending so little to train and develop true communities and so much, relatively, for cash grants serves to maintain the federal policy of keeping the 31 million "poor" alive but outside the American economy. The "poor," dependent and underpaid, are to remain that way. Moreover, since the "poor" are thought unable to staff or control the agencies "helping them," a large portion of the money for each program provides good salaries for the middle class, not the "poor."

The annual budget defies the patience of most people. Few wish to enter the maze of definitions, ambiguous categories and what seem to be deliberate complications. But, to "leave it to the experts" is also to leave it to the values and politically determined priorities guiding the experts. The understanding and principles applied by this Administration to Vietnam are the same as those applied to the federal budget. Are they adequate; are they acceptable? Can't we do better?

- R.W.

AIM PARTY

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HAMDEN AIM

At a January 27th meeting at Jack Crane's house, Hamden AIM re-elected Frazier Mitchell as chairman and discussed the future of AIM in Hamden.

The group felt that there was no problem in Hamden unique to the town. However, it might be possible that a problem would be common to all the suburbs. The Hamden people decided that they should contact other suburban areas and discuss the possible formation of a suburban group.

George Witt and Dan Morgan were delegated to look into two possible projects: a teen-age meeting place and economic reconversion discussion. Hamden AIM felt that a teen-age meeting place, if set up, could bring AIM into contact with other community groups and might involve many people of stature in a community project.

no peace program cont.

The U.S. is the wealthiest nation in the world. The immense surplus we have available indicates the wide range of possibilities open to us as a society. For what we do with that surplus not only forms the present, but determines the shape of the future development of our country.

The way the government spends its share of the surplus reflects a set of choices or values, now coming to be called "national priorities." The dominant fact of our current budget is that we have chosen war and preparation for war as the most important activity of our government. And the budget is prepared in such a way as to mask the real extent of this activity. Senator McGovern has estimated that close to 80% of federal expenditures go to "defense" or defense related activities, while the budget itself shows a mere 31%. Vietnam, says the budget, will cost about $22 billion next year, but knowledgeable Senators have put current expenses at close to $2.5 billion per month, or about $30 billion per year. Even so, our values are showing. $72.3 billion for the Department of Defense (war), $2.4 billion for AID (International Development), $3.5 billion for natural resources, $282 million for public housing, $1 billion for community action (anti-poverty) programs. Even worse than what this means today is what it means tomorrow. Rather than helping the Vietnamese, and others like them, build a balanced industrial base, we are using our wealth to destroy everything they have built in the last 20 years. Overseas, our federal budget chooses destruction and sets back the poorer nations of the world in their drive for development. At home, it chooses the garrison state. For the overwhelming investment is in the military-corporate sector which has come to dominate our economic and political life. As a result of investment today, it will be stronger and more dominant tomorrow. Conversely, we have chosen not to invest our wealth in those programs which would lead to a truly human, diverse, democratic society.

Finally, who has made these decisions? Not all of us, obviously. Not the poor, or the Negroes, or the peaceful. Last fall, when I talked about the budget, the costs of the war, the proposed tax increase, and the forthcoming $10 billion supplemental appropriation for Vietnam, most people couldn't have cared less. They knew they had no choice and that those who do were working very hard to confuse them. The budget is not produced by our most representative branch of government, the Congress. It is even less the product of any national great debate on the subject of our resources, our goals, and our direction. It represents, rather, the choices of a small number of elites in our public and private sectors - the top officials of the State Department, the Department of Defense, and our largest private corporations. Domestically, it probably is mostly an effort to strengthen the Democratic Party-bossism and the pork barrel on a national scale. Overall, it portrays a bleak present and presages a bleaker future.

realistic reason why "this time" she might fare better: her building was one of the first slated to be taken. She could move before the supply ran out. She asked, "What about the others?"

AN ALTERNATIVE

Instead of tearing down Legion Avenue, the Dwight-Hill Association would like to see it rebuilt. One of their more exciting proposals is that the state and city use the funds allocated for highway land acquisition to buy houses, fix them up, and rent them at rates "reduced to what they're really worth." They asked the Mayor to "push publicly for rent control" and to see that the Housing Code is really enforced. They want "a definite public committment" from Lee to "build low-income housing of all types." The city has built no such units since 1954, the year Route 34's space grab was designed.

They also believe that "a lot of slum problems would be solved if poor people--not middle-class people like in Florence Virtue-- could BUY these new low-income houses, instead of just paying rents forever. For people on state welfare, this would help put them on their feet, instead of just letting slumlords get rich off state money."

The Dwight-Hill Association represents a growing reluctance among New Haven people to simply accept what the city gives them. At the end of the meeting, Fred Harris of HPA and architect Harris Stone spoke in support of the women's main point. "People should have a choice in where they go, and a chance to participate in the planning of new neighborhoods," said Harris. The trouble with city projects, added Stone, is that the politicians and the intellectuals draw the diagrams and make the decisions, without consulting the people they should serve. Lee became quite angry at these words. He declared himself ready to "roll up his shirtsleeves" and sit down and plan with any group that came to him. He promised many future meetings with the Dwight-Hill Association.

The neighborhood people are waiting to see.

HELP AIM

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